

No. 1.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

CHICKASAW NATION, *10th October, 1827.*

SIR: I have met the Chickasaw chiefs in council, and, in pursuance of your instructions, ascertained their views in regard to their removal west of the Mississippi. They consent to go, on the following basis:

First, that provision be made for three chiefs from each of their districts, (there are four of these), three white men of their own choosing, and a physician, to be joined by three scientific men from Washington, or elsewhere, to be appointed by the government, to go with them and visit the country, and judge of its fitness in soil, climate, &c. They agree to go upon this business of examination on the first of May next.

Second. If they approve the country, they consent to accept it, acre for acre, for theirs, provided it be cleared of every body, and guaranteed to them for ever; and provided they be placed upon it, in such improvements as, on examination, they may be found to own here, in houses, mills, fences, orchards, stock, &c.; and provided the country be laid off into counties, and schools established in sufficient number for the education of their sons and daughters, and a government be established over them, upon the basis of that of the Michigan Territory; and provided that a suitable force be kept among them to secure them from harm, which they propose to augment by an organization of their people upon the plan of our militia; the whole to embrace, on their part, political privileges and civil advantages, as these are laid down in your report.

I need not tell you, that I found the subject one of extreme delicacy, and the way to it almost wholly barred by excited prejudices and a deep sense of wrongs long endured. Upon a full survey of the whole ground, from Saturday till yesterday, I concluded there was but one way of approach—this I attempted, and it succeeded as stated.

I will have the honor of forwarding, the moment I can find time to copy them, my address, with a minute of the proceedings of the council, and the answer of the chiefs. The council included all the chiefs of the nation except three, and these were prevented, by causes over which they had no control, from attending—but the nation will bear out those who have acted, and it now remains for the government to sanction and confirm the understanding; or to decline it.

I shall leave here in half an hour for the Choctaw Nation, having sent runners ahead to Col. Ward, to assemble the chiefs to meet me. I wrote in haste, and in my tent, and upon my knee, not a little fatigued from the anxiety and toil of yesterday, and from being up till late concluding and signing the conditional understanding with these people.

The Rev. Messrs. Stuart and Bell, and Blair and Holmes, attended the council. It affords me sincere pleasure to state, that those gentlemen most heartily co-operate with the government on the subject of removing, to a permanent and suitable home, these long oppressed peo-

ple. They agree that the salvation of these people can be secured in no other way. You may rely upon it that the Chickasaws are honest in their designs to fulfil every *tittle* of their obligations, if their terms are accepted. I believe it is the only ground on which they will listen to an exchange of country, and, I must add, we ought to ask of them to assume no other.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your most ob't serv't,

THOS. L. McKENNEY.

To the Hon. JAMES BARBOUR,
Secretary of War.

I omitted to add, that a condition is inserted providing for reservations for some of their people, not exceeding *twenty*. I could not do else, after so unexpectedly favorable a result, than make these chiefs, some of them aged and poor, and who come from twenty to fifty miles to meet me, without knowing for what, (for I kept every thing to myself till yesterday, except to tell them and to counsel them as their friend,) a present of \$50 each, and the lesser chiefs \$25, with a present of goods amounting to about \$245, for their families, in all about \$750, on bills to each one on Major Smith, with authority to him to draw on you for their respective amounts.

This is a cheap council. I have promised a medal to each chief in addition, and some three or four rifles to the young men. I have tried to give pleasure to all, and I believe have succeeded.

THOS. L. McKENNEY.

No. 2.

MAYHEW MISSION STATION,
Choctaw Country, October 10th, 1827.

SIR: I had the honor of writing to you yesterday from the Chickasaw Nation, thirty-five miles from this, that I had, the day before, concluded a conditional arrangement with the chiefs of that nation for an exchange of their country; the outlines of which arrangement I had the honor, in that letter, hastily to embody. I now enclose, herewith, copies of my address, their answer, and my reply, marked A. B. C.

It will be seen from my address, that I act, as well for the Indians as for the government; and from their answer, that the address was, in all things, fully responded to. It may, perhaps, be proper for me to explain why I assumed to act in this twofold character; and why the Indians were not left to propose their own terms. It might be sufficient for me to state, that I have never been able to separate the justice and honor of the government, from the best interests of the Indians; and assuming this to be true, my duty, to say nothing of po-

licy, embraced not only the province of a negotiator on the part of the government, *but under the existing state of things*, of moderator, and so far as I might esteem it essential to the great object in view, *guide* also. And it might be added, that no exception ought to be taken against the adoption of any means, that are in themselves moral and just, which may be used with the view of accomplishing a righteous end; and surely none, if those means result, as in the present case, in the accomplishment of such an end. But I prefer to be more particular.

Aware of the settled dislike of these people to any thing in the shape of a direct proposition for their country, and that recent negotiations, though conducted by three distinguished citizens, chosen no less on account of their intelligence, than for their admitted knowledge of the Indian character, had totally failed; and that the large amount of means, which, by Congressional appropriation, had been placed at their disposal as an auxiliary aid, had been equally inoperative, it would have been presumptuous in me, when employed in the same service, and so immediately after the recent failure, and unsupported by a single dollar, to have occupied any one of the positions assumed by those commissioners; or to have approached the subject by any one of the avenues which had been trodden by them. There appeared to me to be one way, and *only* one way, left, and that was the way of my preference, and would have been under any circumstances. But although thus restricted by my views of the subject, I felt the greater enlargement, and more confirmed hopes of success. The way, in a word, was precisely that in which, from my heart, I preferred to approach these people. Accordingly, I gave out on entering the nation, that my visit was a visit of friendship, that I had taken a long journey to see and shake hands with my brothers, the chiefs of the Chickasaw nation, and as they were scattered over the country, and my time was short, I hoped they would meet me at Levi Colbert's, where I would remain a few days to give them time to come in. And to make sure of their receiving this message I sent runners, where I could do so, to deliver it to the chiefs, personally. On arriving at Colbert's, which was on the eighth day after my leaving Memphis, (visiting in my way, in pursuance of your instructions, the missionary establishments, which, together with my visits to the agencies on my entire route, also in pursuance of your instructions, will form the subject of a special communication,) I found I had been preceded by Major James Colbert, and the old interpreter M'Gee, who, on receiving my message, had hastened to meet me. I was received by Levi Colbert, who is the counsellor of the nation, and by these two men with every demonstration of gladness. I repeated the message that I had sent through their country, when Levi Colbert, in reply to the hope I expressed that I should not be disappointed, asked how long I could remain? I answered, until Monday. "If," said he, "you will tarry till Wednesday, I will try and have them all in, and, if possible, by Tuesday at twelve o'clock." I consented; when he immediately sent off runners from twenty to fifty miles round. Meanwhile the chiefs

began to arrive, until by Monday night they had all come in except three, and two of these were sick, and one was absent; one of the former, however, sent an aid to represent him. Each chief met me with the utmost cordiality, and in terms of friendship and confidence that it would be tedious to state. I will, however, note the language of Levi Colbert. "It makes my heart glad, brother," said he, "to see you. I feel as if some good thing was to happen to us." Then grasping my hand, he continued: "Yes, and never since, about three years ago, when I left my son with you, have I gone to sleep without having you before my eyes. You are our friend, and we all look upon your visit as a great blessing, for we are in trouble."* I replied, that a regard for them, and a strong desire to see them, and to see them happy, had brought me into their country; that their troubles, of whatever sort they might be, should have my closest attention, and such as I could relieve on the spot, I would; and such as I could not, I would take home to their Great Father at Washington, who looked upon them as his children, and would listen attentively to their cries; and then added, that I knew of some of their troubles, and serious enough they were, and if they would meet me in council, in the morning, I would prove to them that I was their friend, by showing them the way to become a great and a happy people, and by advice in other things, which if they regarded their own happiness, and the happiness of their children, I hoped they would take. They greeted this language like a people would the return of milder and calmer seasons, after having been long buffeted by storms and tempests, and replied: "*We know you well.* We promise to meet you in council, and listen well to what you may say." I then prepared the address, as it now stands, giving none of them, meanwhile, the slightest conception of the nature of the advice to which I had referred, nor had they any idea of it until it was disclosed by the address itself, in council.

It may now be seen why I adopted the course I did. I found myself surrounded by a people who appeared to look up to me as their friend. I felt that I had their confidence, and knew well that the charm of this powerful influence would have been dissipated by the very first sentence that I might have delivered, bearing directly on the subject of an exchange of their country. All their hopes in my friendship would have vanished, and the issue, I am confident, would have been a *total failure*, besides a loss of their confidence in the future.

Our council met the next day, (Tuesday,) at 10 o'clock. There had been the evening before a severe storm of thunder and lightning, and rain. The morning was bright, and calm, and beautiful. I told them I could not help thinking that the confusion and storm of last night, its restless and unsettled character, and the suffering which every thing around appeared to endure, was an emblem of their own past lives. They had never been a composed and settled people, but were like the storm of yesterday, in constant excitement, and knew no

* His reference was, as I found afterwards, to their domestic matters, but especially to their agency concerns.

rest. They answered, "*It is so.*" But this morning, I continued, is calm and beautiful; and I cannot help hoping that the Great Spirit has sent it as an emblem of what your future lives are to be. They said, "It did look a good deal like it." Four of the missionaries being present, having come that morning on my invitation to attend the council, I added—The business we are about to engage in being viewed by me of the greatest importance, and as the Great Spirit directs and governs all things, and takes pleasure in seeing his children happy, it is my wish, if you have no objection, that our aged father Bell, would ask the Great Spirit to smile upon our council, and direct our deliberations to a happy and prosperous issue; that in their Great Father's great council in Washington, a good man every morning spoke to the Great Spirit, and asked for direction in all things, and to bless their deliberations. They answered, "It will be very agreeable to us." When this excellent, and useful, and venerable missionary prayed accordingly. I then told them I had a great respect for the pipe: it was an emblem of peace and friendship: that I had brought a long and handsome one, made by their brothers on the other side of the Mississippi; which, if one of their young men would fill and light, we would smoke. They answered—"That is good—the pipe is the Indian's—we will be glad to smoke."—It was lit and smoked accordingly.

I then told them I was ready to hear them; and, as they had spoken of troubles, I would listen attentively to them, and promised to relieve them all I could. [These I will have the honor to hand to you on my return, with a statement of my reply, and what I did towards a relief of their grievances.]

Having heard all they had to say, and noted it all down, I told them I would now make good my word, by showing them that I was their friend, and give them advice which I doubted not they would follow; that to have all well understood, and that their interpreter might be able the better to interpret it, I had written it down, and would read it. They spoke and said, "we will be glad to hear you." I then delivered the address, and the council rose, at about one o'clock. In the afternoon they assembled, by themselves, to deliberate; and in two hours sent me word they had agreed to all I had said, and asked for my paper, from which to make out their answer. By twelve o'clock at night the whole business was closed.

I hope I may be excused for including in this report the foregoing detail. It will no doubt be tedious, but I mean it to take the place of the usual accompaniment of a separate paper containing the proceedings of such councils.

I will now proceed to offer some remarks on the terms proposed for an exchange of country with those people, and which they are sincere in their desire to carry into effect; and upon the probable cost attending their execution.

The reasonableness of the liberty proposed to be granted to them first to examine the country, will not be disputed; nor will, it is presumed, the stipulation which provides that the cost of the examination shall be ours. The justice of both is too apparent to need illustration.

or justification. The proposition to emigrate comes from us, not from them. The cost of looking at the country to which they are invited to go, and which we propose to give them in exchange for theirs, it were time thrown away to attempt to prove, should be ours. And as little would it comport with justice, for us to ask them to leave their homes, and such comforts as they have here, without providing them with homes as good there, and comforts of at least equal extent. Their work-shops and their mills, though few in number, and common enough, are the labor of their own hands, and should not be asked of them without an equivalent, not in quantity only, but in kind—and even improved. They should not be left to toil again in their erection. A want of skill quadruples the labor, if performed by them, and the absence of science multiplies it even beyond that. The work should be done for them. As to their stock, it is their personal wealth, and not attaching to the soil here, and being indispensable to them any where, it should not be considered a burden to replace it for them, and at our cost, at their new homes. Their's they could not get there; and it would not comport with our magnanimity, as a great nation, to ask them to sell, and give us the money wherewith to purchase more! When they shall sell, they will need the proceeds to pay off their debts, settle up their affairs here, and should any be left, it will be needed, wherewith to secure those little comforts which, as human beings, they may require in a new country; and for which there is no provision in the terms of exchange, not even the usual one of support for a year after they shall arrive at their new homes. This, then, will be the only item for which we do not receive, at least, a partial equivalent here, in the increased value which their houses and fences, &c. will add to the lands proposed to be left by them; unless, indeed, it be thought proper to count the cost of supporting the government of the territory proposed to be established over them, and of the county schools. These latter we are bound, in common justice, to support any where, if we mean to maintain our character for an enlightened and humane and Christian people; and as to the former, or both, what, I ask, is their cost, compared with the proceeds of all this vast and fine country which they propose to abandon? Nor will it be thought unreasonable, that they should be made secure, in the new country to which they propose to go; because, here they lie down and rise up in the most perfect security—there their fears, at least may be alarmed, if no more. It becomes us, therefore, to see to their security. Justice and humanity both demand it.

It is presumed that no exception will be taken to their having a government, or their being represented in the manner stipulated in the Congress. Both measures are right in themselves; and as to the privilege of sending a delegate to Congress, if the privilege of living under a government be ceded, it appears to follow as a consequence, and a consequence no less important to ourselves than to them. This connecting tie between the territorial government there, and the Congress here, it is presumed, would be esteemed indispensable. But if there be any exceptions taken to it, they can be those only arising

out of prejudice; and this feeling it is easier to meet and overcome by precedent than argument. In compliment to it, therefore, I will refer to a similar privilege, guaranteed in 1785, I think; and in the 12th article of the treaty of Hopewell. If I am not mistaken, the provision is in these words:—

“That the Indians, (meaning the Cherokees,) may have full confidence in the justice of the United States, respecting their interests, they shall have the right to send a deputy, of THEIR OWN CHOICE, whenever they think fit, to Congress.” This may suffice.

It may possibly be thought by some, that money should have been proposed, as an equivalent for the enumerated improvements which it is proposed to abandon and on the grounds, that the government would be saved the trouble of building and putting up houses and mills and fences, &c. in their new country. I could not in my conscience recommend this. All who know any thing of the Indian character, know how improvident they are, and will admit that a monied consideration would be a fruitful source of evil to them, and would, doubtless, render the majority of them homeless and houseless for the rest of their lives. A recent illustration has been had, of the impoverishing effects of a money payment, in the Creeks. I believe them to be poorer, and to have suffered more, since they received the large amount secured to them under the treaty of Washington, than they have been for twenty years before. Besides, it will not be a task of such difficult accomplishment, nor will the cost be so enormous, as perhaps at first view it might appear; and this I proceed now to show.

In regard to the first, the whole undertaking should be upon contracts, in the usual form of public advertisement, and by bond and security for the faithful execution of the trust. There should be three contracts; one for building houses and mills; one for putting up fences and planting orchards; and one for supplying the stock, &c. Commissioners should be appointed, to examine and report the kind, and sizes, and numbers of houses, and the quantity of fences and orchards, &c. here. And now for the probable cost.

The population of the Chickasaw nation may be put down at four thousand, they having increased about four hundred within the last five or six years. I will suppose the families to average five souls each: which will give eight hundred houses. These houses, judging from what I have seen, and from inquiries made with a view to the estimate, may be built, with the addition of puncheon floors, for an average cost of one hundred and fifty dollars. This I think a *high estimate*. The most of them I have seen, are of rough logs, piled up in a square, with roofs of boards, confined down by pins and saplings, and daubed in, (such of them as are filled in at all,) with mud. The chimneys, those that have any, are generally of split or round sticks, put up in squares, and daubed with mud; and the houses are generally small and comfortless, and might, numbers of them, be put up for ten and twenty dollars. But there are some comfortable houses owned by the half and quarter breeds, some of which, and the best of them, (but

they are few,) may have cost a thousand, and some, including their cribs and stables, &c. two thousand dollars. The estimate of one hundred and fifty dollars for each family, I think, will cover the cost of building, if the country they may select be a wooded country, and they will take care to select no other. This branch of the expenditure, then, may be put down at one hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

The number of their mills, it is believed, does not exceed ten. I estimate these to cost an average of five hundred dollars each, which is five thousand dollars.

Their work-shops, I do not think exceed fifty—which, with their tools, may be estimated at fifty dollars each; or twenty-five hundred dollars for this item.

Their orchards are few, and limited in extent, and may be replaced for one thousand dollars.

Their fences may be estimated to cost fifty thousand dollars.

Their stock of all kinds, averaging two horses and two cows, and five hogs and a dozen of poultry to each; and the price of a horse at forty dollars, of a cow at ten, a hog at five, and a dozen of poultry at one dollar, will make a total of eighty-four thousand eight hundred dollars.

The probable cost of the visit to examine the country, I estimate at \$10,000; and of their removal to it, at one hundred thousand dollars.

The total of cost, (except the annual estimate for the government, the schools, and the military,) is, according to the foregoing estimate, *three hundred and ninety-five thousand eight hundred dollars*—or, suppose a fourth be added, so as to show *the utmost* extent of cost, it will make the cost \$494,750.

The annual expense, on account of the government, may be assumed to be the same as that of Florida or Michigan; for the support of schools annually, for twenty years, (where the limit may be fixed,) at \$50,000,—and for the military, not more than it would require to support ten companies elsewhere; and I assume, that this force, if judiciously located or moved about, would be sufficient, in the present broken state of the Indian power; nor need this be retained but for a few years, as the proposed organization of their own people will doubtless, very soon, supersede the necessity for it.

In regard to the missionary establishments—these would, of course, be broken up here; but these excellent people would follow their present charge to their new homes. Whilst justice would demand that a remuneration of the amount expended by them in buildings and improvements, over and above that received from the government, should be made to them, it would, from what I have seen, be fully realized in the extra price which the lands they stand on would bring; and which might be sold, owing to the high state of improvement in most of them, at a great advance. This sum, too, would form part of the fund for the civilization and improvement of the Indians, wherever they may settle, as it has been applied here.

I am aware that exceptions are taken by some to the policy of a removal, *even under such circumstances*, or, indeed, under any; but, whenever the time may come for a trial, it can be defended; and unless I am wholly deceived in the entire scheme, it can be demonstrated to be the *only policy* by which the Indians can be saved, and elevated to that rank of being which there can be no doubt it is the pleasure of their Maker they should enjoy.

I shall leave here to-morrow for the Choctaw Agency, having sent an express with my greetings to the chiefs, and an invitation to meet me at the Agency. I hope to conclude my interview with them by Tuesday next, when I shall pass on to the Cherokees, and thence to the Creeks. Should the Creeks not have concluded to cede that strip of land, I shall endeavor, under your special instructions, to secure it; and will, at the same time, ascertain their dispositions to unite in the plan adopted by the Chickasaws. I can form no opinion of the probable success which may attend my interviews with the remaining tribes, but hope for the best. One thing, I think, may be assumed as certain, and that is, if the Chickasaws become once placed under the kind of government proposed to be given to them, the other three southern tribes will follow. It may require time, but they will all, in my opinion, with suitable management, eventually go.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect, your ob't. serv't.

THOS. L. MCKENNEY.

Hon. JAMES BARBOUR,

Secretary of War,

[A.]

Talk delivered to the Council held with the Chiefs of the Chickasaw Nation, at Levi Colbert's, on Tuesday, October 9th, 1827, by Thomas L. McKenney.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS: I have long wished to see and shake hands with the chiefs and head men of the Chickasaw nation. The Great Spirit has made my way clear, and I am come. My heart is glad.

Brothers: This visit, so long wished for on my part, I sincerely hope may not be without its use to you and your people. It is to show you my heart that I am come. I know there is nothing in it but friendship for you; and the more I can make my heart plain, the more will you see why I am come. I have nothing to conceal from you; you are my brothers. My great difficulty will be in making plain to you what I see, though I see it so clearly myself; and that is, *the path which is to lead you and your children's children to prosperity and happiness*. Is not this the path you all desire to walk in?

Brothers: Give me your ears, and, what is of equal importance, give me your confidence. If you think I am come to do you wrong, or

give you bad counsels, you do me great injustice. I am not come but as your friend, and if there is a chief present who doubts this, let him speak, and I will not say another word.

Brothers: I know well who you are that I am addressing. I know you are not children, but men, and men of experience, and men of wisdom. I know, too, that the smoke of this council fire comes not of ashes, but of living fire—it rises out of our hearts, for we are friends.

Brothers: You have long had your eyes open upon the past. You have seen much, and your hearts have suffered much.

Brothers: What have you seen? It pains me to call your attention to it—but I must be just to you; and if a review of what has gone by is painful, it may also be useful. Look to the rising sun! Was there not a time when the red men roamed free over all the hills, and reposed in all the vallies, even to where the sun comes up from behind the eastern mountains? But who occupies all that great country now? Not the red men! Purchase after purchase has been made until those who are left, and they are few indeed! (like the few dying leaves that quiver off the trees after the frost has come,) until those few, I say, have got back to this distant region; and now, though you were once a strong and mighty people, you are weak, and poor, and helpless!

Brothers: This thought would not be painful to you, if, after all your difficulties, and the thinning of your people, those of you who remain were situated as men ought to be; if your present state were secure: if you felt easy on your lands; and if no more evils appeared to await; or if you had hope to cheer you—a hope that would say something like this to you:

‘It is true you have been a wandering and afflicted people; you have become diminished to a few; but see there! In the future you will rejoice and be glad; there you will find a firm footing. No people will ever move you more. Your children will flourish, and your children’s children will be a happy and a great people.’

Brothers: Behold that hope now: I am come to bring it to you. It was that you might hear this cheering voice, and see that lovely prospect that I am come. I knew you were afflicted, and I was sorry for you—I knew you were in darkness, and I am come to bring you light. But listen yet longer to what is not so agreeable.

Brothers: Need I tell you, who know so well, what strife there is all round you? How your father, the President, is pressed to buy your lands? Need I tell you that it is because your country is surrounded and pressed upon all sides by the whites, that he has so much trouble to keep you from being crushed by them? Need I tell you that your friends every where are full of anxiety about you? I am sure I need not. You know all this, and you feel it in your hearts, and it makes you sad!

Brothers: When you are asked to exchange your country, and leave it, and go to another, you remember the past, and think of your fathers. You say here lie the bones of our fathers; and here has been the home of our infancy, and we love this country. This is honorable to you. It is proof that you have hearts, and that you are men.

I think the more of a man who cherishes in his heart a sacred remembrance of his father and his mother, and who loves the land which covers their bones.

Brothers: All that is noble : but then you are not to forget your children, and your children's children. Your fathers are no more—their spirits are gone up to the Great Spirit. What remains of them is but dust. They feel not, and care not, whether the foot of the red or the white man treads upon their graves. But your children live, and they feel, and they will feel, down to the latest generations.

Brothers: Whilst, then, you cherish a sacred remembrance for the bones of your fathers, forget not to provide for your children, and never stop a moment, but hasten with all speed to place them in a situation that will secure them against the evils that your fathers have endured, and from the sorrows that fill and afflict your own hearts. This, brothers, is wisdom. The past, I know, has been cloudy and dark enough, but, brothers, be not discouraged: the Great Spirit will yet open your way, and shine upon your path.

Brothers: Am I too long keeping you from a sight of that path? Be patient, and I will show it to you in good time.

Brothers: It was but the other day that you met commissioners who were sent to buy your country—you know what passed between you on that occasion. Now, brothers, I admit that no people ought to be asked to exchange their situation, without a certain prospect of realizing a better; but no people should be so unwise, if an offer is made that *will* better their condition, as to reject it. That you know would be foolish; and men do not act so. Men always are seeking to do better. That is right; and it was to improve, and do better, that the Great Spirit put man on the earth.

Brothers: I am not for the Indians taking the white man's word in an affair of bargain and sale, but I advise him always to examine for himself. As your friend, I tell you now, always hear attentively, and then examine closely, and then decide; and when you convince yourselves that you can make a good bargain, make it; but be careful.

Brothers: I know I am your friend—I have even suffered for being so—yet I would not ask you to take my word in any thing affecting your present or future welfare; but I would prefer that you should examine well into such momentous subjects for yourselves. All I feel free to do, is to shed light upon your destiny; and, as a brother, *advise*; and were I not to do this, I should not be worthy to be called your friend.

Brothers: I wish to counsel you as men, and not as children; and I am mistaken, if your wisdom will not lead you, by the light of this council fire, to adopt my counsels, so far as these may go; and I shall take care that they shall go no farther than they ought. I will point out your path, and show you the way to honor and prosperity. It will be left to you to walk in it, or take another.

Brothers: It is said, since you did not agree to the proposals of the commissioners, that you are a self-willed and obstinate people. I do not believe it. But many people, who do not know you as well as I do, may incline to think this true. This, as far as it may be believed, will

lessen the number of your friends; and these are few, *you have not to spare*. Now, I wish you to put it out of the power of any body to say so. I wish you to take such steps as shall convince the world that you are a people who require no more when an offer is made to you, than that your acceptance of it should improve your condition, and put you out of reach of the evils that have afflicted you in the past, and make sure your prosperity for the future. When, by your conduct you do this, you strike a stroke that will break down the power of your enemies, and this will make your friends numerous and strong, and make sure your prosperity wherever you may be.

Brothers : Is not all this reasonable? Have I said a single word that is not exactly agreeable to your own views? Do you not feel in your hearts that what I say is the truth?

Brothers : I see the causes of your weakness and poverty—I see why it is that your fathers never maintained their ground, and the reason why you are as you are. I will tell you.

Brothers : Here you are on a piece of land surrounded by a great and powerful nation. In that nation you see a distribution of honors in appointments to office, in the state, in the army, and in the navy. You see the white man and his children flourish and prosper all round you, and made great; then you look round on yourselves, and on your children, and your hearts sink in you because you are shut out from all these, and are no people. You feel no emulation; you give up, and say, what's the use of it? An impassable mountain is between our people, and the honors and profits which the whites enjoy; they flourish and prosper, but we fade away, and decay, and die, like our fathers!

Brothers : THERE IS A CAUSE FOR THIS.

Now listen, and I will tell you what that cause is—Open wide your ears, and I will tell you how to break down that mountain, and then you will see the path with light shining upon it, for you and your children to walk in.

Brothers : When you were asked by the commissioners to exchange your country, *that was your time*: then you had an opportunity of making yourselves a great people, and in all respects like the whites. That was your time to have put your feet on strong ground that never would have slipped from under them more.

Brothers : Our country, you might have said, is good enough for us. We are contented, so far as that is concerned, but as you want it, you may have it, if you will agree to our terms. You ought to have told them, like all other people we wish to better our condition. Show us how we are to do this, make it plain to us, prove it, and we will exchange. You might have asked if the country they offered you, is healthy? if it is rich? if the water is plenty and good? and if it is well wooded? If it is, point it out to us, and we will go directly and examine it; and then, you might have said, if we like it we will exchange, provided you will agree to make us a people, by your first marking it out to us, acre for acre, for ours, and then dividing it into counties; leaving a good piece in the centre for a seat of government; and provided you give us parchment for our farms that we may choose within

that country; you driving every body from it, and provided you guarantee it to us *for ever*, with the right to sell to our brothers,* by permission of our great father, the President of the United States; and provided you put us up there, houses, and mills, and fences, and work shops, as good as we have got here; and provided you will give us stock there as we have it here; and provided you establish schools in all the counties, sufficient for the education of our children, and to teach our girls how to spin and manage household affairs; and provided you send a force there to protect us from danger; and organize our people into companies like your militia, to be commissioned by our great father, the President of the United States; and then establish a government over us, suited to our condition, with plain good laws, like one of your territories—and then give our people the right of suffrage, as they may be prepared by education to vote and take part in the government; and then allow us after the territory is organized, to send a delegate to Congress, like your territories; and give us here a few reservations for people who may want them; and then we will exchange, if, after we look at the country and examine it well, we like it—you paying the expense of our going to see it, and when we go, of our removal to it. Make us in this way, you might have said, a people; and part of yourselves—Give us and our children the hope of rising above the sorrows and sufferings, and degradation of the past—secure to us our privileges as members of the great family of man—and then we will go.

Brothers : An answer like that, would have been the proper answer. You see in it the ground work of your future greatness as a people. You see it includes every thing.

Brothers : It is this I have been aiming at for you. This is your path, and the light of reason, of justice, and of Heaven, shines upon it.

Brothers : I will suppose the commissioners had rejected such terms—what then?—why you would have convinced the world that you are not a self willed and obstinate people. You would have made your friends strong, because you would have asked nothing but what is just, and in doing so you would have broken the power of your enemies.

Brothers : I now put my finger on a country†—will you not go and look at it? Should it turn out to be sickly, or poor, or be not sufficiently watered, and not well wooded—and should you be able to find no good country, why then who could ask you to leave your own? No good man would wish to impose it upon you to go to a country that you could not live in—and then, should that be the case, that there is no suitable country, why the next step would be to improve you all here as fast as possible, that the distinction which exists now, might exist no longer—for you know, as many of you can read, that one great reason urged against your improvement, is, that if you are improved you will be less likely to part from your lands.

* Meaning Indians.

† The map was open and before me.

Brothers : Am I understood ? Do you feel the force of my remarks ? Have I opened the way for your eyes to see your future greatness ? It is not yet too late. But perhaps you doubt whether any thing so good could be granted ? *That is precisely what I want you to authorize me to try.* I wish to carry home such an answer, as I have told you ought to have been given to the commissioners, to your great father. Let your terms be stated—say how you will treat for your lands—and thus decide the question.

Brothers : Say to me, for the sake of your children and children's children, that you will go quick and look at the country—fix the day, and let it be the first of next May. Now, let me tell you, is your time. The time for such terms never came before, and it may never come again. Take hold of it, then—and if you think I know any thing, and am your friend, put such a paper in my hands to take home with me. It may secure your future happiness, which is what I want, and your children's prosperity for ever—and this will serve to make amends, in some way, for the sufferings of the past.

Brothers : If you do not, I shall still fear—for the storm about Indians' lands is terrible indeed ! I wish to skreen you from it.

Brothers : I have done—I pray the Great Spirit to direct you.

[B.]

Answer of the Chickasaw Chiefs to Col. M'Kenney's talk.

COUNCIL ROOM, CHICKASAW NATION,

October 9, 1827.

Brother : We have opened our ears wide to your talk ; we have not lost a word of it. We came together to meet you, as an old friend, and to shake hands with you. We were happy, and our hearts grew big, when we heard you had come to our country. We have always thought of you as our friend ; we have confidence in you ; we have listened more close, because we think so much of you ; we know well you would not deceive us, and we believe you know what is best for us, and for our children.

Brother : Do not you forsake us. Our friends, as you told us, are few, we have none to spare ; we know that. *Brother* : You think it will be better for us to take your advice. It has truly made deep impressions on our hearts. Without making a long talk, as you are to leave us in the morning, we will state our terms for an exchange of country. We have no objection to our country ; if we could be let alone, we might do well ; but we are great sufferers ; every thing seems against us, and we will agree to almost any thing that can make our condition better. We believe, if the government of the United States is honest towards us, and wish us to be a people, and not outcast al-

ways, that we may yet do better. We will now tell you what we will do.

Brother: You would not wish us to move away, and into a country where we could not live, and as well as we live here. Then, as you have pointed us out a country, on the north of the State of Missouri, and between the Missouri and Mississippi river, and speak well of it, we agree, first and foremost, to go and look at it, and any other country that we may choose; when twelve of our people, three from each district, have examined it, assisted by a scientific doctor, to see to our health; and by three good white men, to be selected by ourselves, and three of your men of science, from Washington or elsewhere; we say, when we have examined it, if we like it, if its soil is good, and well wooded; if water is plenty and good, we will agree to exchange acre for acre, provided you, on your part, will mark out the country, and divide it into counties, and leave a place in the centre for a seat of government; and then drive every body off of it, and guarantee it to us for ever; and as soon as may be, divide it for us into farms, and give us a parchment for them to be recorded, with a right to sell to our brothers, with the consent of our father, the President of the United States. And provided, also, that in addition, you examine our houses and mills, and fences, and our workshops here; also, our orchards, and build, and put up, and plant as good there, at such places, within the territory, as we may choose. Also, provided you count our stocks here, and put an equal number, and of each kind, within their respective owner's limits there. Also, provided you establish schools in all the counties, sufficient for the education of our children, and to teach our girls how to spin and manage household affairs; and provided, also, you send a sufficient force there to ensure our protection; and organize our people into companies, like your militia, to be commissioned by our father, the President of the United States: and provided that you establish a government over us, in all respects like one of your territories, (Michigan for example,) and give the right of suffrage to our people, as they shall be prepared by education to vote and act; and allow us, after the territory is organized, a delegate, like your territories enjoy, in Congress; and provided there be allowed, to some of our people, reservations, not exceeding twenty, to be surveyed and given to them on parchment, to sell, if they please, like the white man.

Brother: Grant us these terms; better our condition as a people; give us the privileges of men; and if the country you point us to, or any other we may find, turns out to be acceptable to us, we will treat for exchange upon the above basis. We ask, also, for a millwright and three blacksmiths; they will be needed by us.

Brother: We are willing to go next May, in steam boats, from Memphis to St. Louis, and thence over the line, and examine the country thoroughly; and, on the following spring, then we shall know all the seasons, and how the climate is. Should you think proper to take us at our offer, provide the means, and let us know in time, (say by the first of April next;) the cost is to be yours, and every thing, and each of our people, who may go, must have a fine rifle, and horn,

and powder, and lead, and plenty of things for an outfit, in provisions, and tobacco, and blankets, and the like.

Brother: Should our offer not be accepted, then we are done. We hope to be let alone where we are, and that your people will be made to treat us like men and Christians, and not like dogs. We tell you now, we want to make our children men and women, and to raise them high as yours, in privileges : we will have inducements then to do so; now we have not.

Brother: Understand, nothing is done, unless the country we go to look at, suits, and not then, unless all we require is agreed to on your part.

Brother: We shake hands with you, and our hearts go with you.

TISH-A MINGO, his \times mark.

WILLIAM M'GILVERY, his \times mark.

LEVI COLBERT, his \times mark.

Committee of the Nation.

STIMO-LUCT, his \times mark.

PUS-TA-LA-TUBBEE, his \times mark.

MA-TAASH-TO, his \times mark.

Witness :

PITMAN COLBERT, *Secretary* :

To Col. THOMAS L. M'KENNEY.

[C.]

. Col. M'Kenney's Reply to the Chickasaw Chiefs.

COUNCIL ROOM, CHICKASAW NATION,

October 9th, 1827.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:—I have received, and read your answer to my talk to you of this morning. Having no powers to conclude an agreement with you, I have to state in answer, that I will lose no time in laying before your father, the President of the United States, the terms on which you propose a compliance with his wish to see you a happy people on lands west of the Mississippi. So soon as he makes your views known to his great council, he will direct an answer to be made to you.

In return for the confidence you have expressed in me, and for the promise that your hearts will go with me, I have to assure you that your confidence is not misplaced. In me you have always had a friend, and I hope always to remain so. I will never advise you but for your good.

I will bear in mind that the hearts of the Chickasaw chiefs go with me; and this will make my journey home the more agreeable;

for the hearts that go with me are the same that have stood by my country in the hour of danger, and often and fearlessly entered the battle-field in defence of American rights and liberty. It is not possible but that I should wish you and your posterity every possible prosperity and happiness.

I shake hands with you, and pray the Great Spirit to preserve and bless you.

Your friend and brother,
[Signed] THOS. L. MCKENNEY.

TO TISH-A-MINGO, LEVI COLBERT,
And other Chiefs of the Chickasaw Nation.

No. 3.

T. L. McKenny to the Secretary of War.

CHOCTAW AGENCY,

October 17, 1827.

SIR: I had the honor of writing you, by the last mail from this place, that I expected to hold a council with the Choctaw chiefs to-day. The arrival of Col. Leflore, at an earlier hour of the afternoon of yesterday, than I expected, enabled me to convene the council a little before sun-down, which I was the more anxious to do, from the peculiar slow movements of Indians; the tedious process of passing through the mouth of the interpreter what may be to be said; and above all, from my increasing anxiety to get home.

I was aware, that I should have some obstacles to contend with, of a new and imposing character, and such as it was doubtful whether *any* thing could move. I knew that two chiefs, *Mushulatubbee* and *Cole*, had been displaced, to make way for Col. Folsom and Leflore, and on the express grounds, that they were to resist *any and every proposition* that might be made to the nation, for a sale or exchange of territory. Then again I saw difficulties in the plan of inviting them to another country, other than that which they already claim in Arkansas; and difficulties, (on the ground of the objections of that territory to Indians forming part of its population,) in pointing them to their lands there; for to do this, would destroy the harmony of the plan of uniting them under one head, in a territory, on the plan as approved by the Chickasaws. I concluded finally, that all things should give way to the proposition as made to the Chickasaws, hoping that their acceptance of it might act as an encouragement, and produce, *if not a prompt acceptance*, at least a willingness to break ground under cover of some pretext, so as to co-operate, actually, in the plan accept-

ed by the Chickasaws, though by *seeming* to reject it. I thought I saw this much, in my first interview. It was afterwards confirmed. The chiefs were bound, I discovered, to reject *openly*, any proposition of the sort, or bring upon themselves the charge of inconsistency, and possibly the rebuke, if not chastisement of the nation. I nevertheless, resolved to try; and I accordingly addressed them in the main, upon the same ground as stated in the copy of my talk to the Chickasaws, adding some reasons derived from the question of state sovereignty and state rights, and of their operation upon them, and in the simplest forms. It made a deep impression. ——— came to my room and conversed with me till twelve o'clock at night, palliating his intended objections to the propositions, and yet manifestly approving them. He is an intelligent man, and withal ambitious, though honorably so, and felt the influence of the prospect which a government and the proposed provisions held out for his people, as indeed did ———, who is also a man of vigorous intellect. But I anticipated the answer which I should receive from them *in council*, and meanwhile prepared to elude its force. Indeed one of the ——— told me in plain terms, it was not possible for the chiefs even to *seem* to approve it, as before another day the opposition, (meaning the party who had been *unchiefed* by them,) would declare they had *sold* their country; which, if it did not result in shooting them by the way side, or cutting their throats, would lose them their influence, and *put it out of their power, after the country should be examined and approved, to lead their people to it, as proposed*. He added, it would be much easier to have persons go under any other form, get their report, *and treat afterwards*.

On receiving their verbal answer in council, (which I have the honor herewith to enclose in writing, marked A,) I made a reply pretty much in substance like the answer herewith enclosed, marked B, in which I concluded, by the proposition to them to send two men from each of their districts, (six persons in number,) to accompany their elder brothers, the Chickasaws; when they might return by the way of Arsansas, and see their country and their friends there. I told them, I made the offer on the grounds that their great father would approve of it, and purely to oblige them. But that I could not promise any thing until it should be sanctioned at Washington. You will see their answer on this head in the paper marked A.

I am decidedly of the opinion, from all I can gather, and I have literally sifted these people, that nothing but the recent change in the chiefs, or rather their pledges to the nation, kept the council from adopting openly, and fully, and cheerfully, and *unanimously*, the proposition submitted. This plan of a government, and of civil and political privileges, is very agreeable to them, and they think of it with pleasure; yet each feels the possible peril in which a *declaration* might involve him.

They speak much of the failures in the propositions of former times, and doubt the promises made to them. And, whilst upon this head, Leflore went so far in council, (as you may see in the written answer

to me,) as to say, in substance, that, "*if the guarantees were with me, from their confidence in my friendship for them, and had not to pass into other hands. the answer might have been different.*"

The way I consider to be fairly open ; it will depend wholly upon those who may go with these Indians in search of a country, whether what has been thus favourably commenced be carried to a successful issue, or shall stop short of it. Upon this part of the subject I will have the honor to converse with you more at large on my return, and to give at large, in conversation, my reasons for the belief that the Choctaws, as a people, are even now willing to adopt the offer made to them.

The plan of opening the way and fixing depôts, with suitable inducements in accommodations in the Indian territory, and comforts by the way, should *be at once* adopted; and be made ready against the return of those who go to look at the country. There is no difficulty in regard to the country: of this I will satisfy you.

I shall leave here in the morning early, rain or shine, and lose no time in seeing the other two tribes, if I can, *but certainly the Creeks.*

I have honor to be,

With great respect, &c.

[Signed] THOMAS L. M'KENNEY.

Hon. JAMES BARBOUR,
Secretary of War.

A.

Answer of the Choctaw Chiefs to Col. McKenney.

CHOCTAW AGENCY,

October 17th, 1827.

BELOVED BROTHER:—We rejoice to have taken you by the hand, and that the Great Spirit above has given you health and strength to perform a long and tedious road. Our hearts are proud—we have attentively listened to your talk, and after much thinking and consultation, we are sorry we cannot agree to your proposition of yesterday.—It was the talk of a friend. We are thankful for your advice—but more than sorry that we have been unanimous in declining to accept it. It always gives us pain to disagree to a friend's talk—we are poor and blind people, and need much advice and indulgence—you gave us much good advice. If you had the power to do every thing, and it had not to go into other hands, it might be different. We have confidence in you—we hope to part friends as we met friends; and although we do not agree to your proposition for an exchange of country, we would have no objection if our great father would permit, although not with any view to exchange our country, to let six of our people go with our

older brothers, the Chickasaws, and return home by the way of the Arkansas. We make this proposal, because you suggested it in council.

We now wish you a plain and straight path home, and that health and happiness may attend you.

Your Friends and Brothers.

Wa Sha shi mas tubbe, his X mark	} Principal Chiefs.
Hoop pa ya skit ta na, his X mark	
Red Dog, his X mark	
David Folsom,	
Tapena Homma, his X mark	
Greenwood Leflore,	
E, Yah, ho tubbee, his X mark	
Ah che lu luh, his X mark	
Mitlokachu, his X mark	
William Hay, his X mark	
Jerh Folsom, his X mark	
Holuhbee, his X mark	
Hok loon tubbee, his X mark	
Hoosh shi hoom ma, his X mark	
James Pickens, his X mark	
Ook chauh Yah, his X mark	
P. P. Pitchlynn, <i>Secretary pro. tem.</i>	
M. Foster, Jr. <i>National Secretary.</i>	

To Col. T. L. M'KENNEY.

B.

Col. M'Kenney's Reply to the Choctaw Chiefs.

CHOCTAW AGENCY,

October 17th, 1827.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:—I have received your answer to my talk, declining to accept the conditional arrangement I proposed to enter into with you in council yesterday. I am sorry for it, because it contained the elements of your greatness, and which, if complied with, would have made you, at no distant day, a great and prosperous people. I do not yet despair of your *asking* for these privileges.—This hope comforts my heart. I told you I had come to counsel with you as men, not as children; and to mark out a path for you, and then leave you to walk in it, or take another. Your declining to walk in my path has not changed my feelings towards one of you—but rather increases my anxiety for your happiness.

I thank you for the kindness with which you have received me, and for your good wishes, as expressed for my safety home, over a plain, straight path.

Brothers—I cannot but feel troubled for you—I wish you may escape the thickets, I think I see you may be entangled in—and the dark mountains in which I tremble to think you must be lost, if you do not rise up and look around you. Let my voice keep sounding in your ears—think of me, and of my counsels—and if you do get in trouble, send me word, and, if I can, I will help you. Do not fear—we will part friends. I never will forsake you. I am the red man's friend, and shall always be so.

Brothers—I have no presents with me—but have put means in the hands of your agent to get a few things for your wives and children. They will be few—but they will be marks of my good will for you, and so I hope you will receive them.

Brothers—You spoke in your talk in council, about your blood having been mingled with our blood in wars, and of your friendship for the American government. I felt that—I know it well—and that is one reason why I want you to be a great people. You desire to be great, and to enjoy rewards and honors like our great men. I tell you I yet have hope. I do not think you will long hold back, but soon, (taking my advice,) I shall see you smile over your children, rejoicing to think that they are born to the enjoyment of the rights and privileges of our free and happy republic.

Brothers—I will ask your great father to let six of your people, and an interpreter, go with your elder brothers, the Chickasaws, and on their way home to visit their friends in Arkansas. I hope he may grant the request.

I shake hands with you, and pray the Great Spirit to preserve and bless you.

Your friend and brother,
[Signed] THOS. L. McKENNEY.

To Col. DAVID FOLSOM, Col. GREENWOOD LEFLORE, TUP-PE-NA-HOMO, and others.

D.

Col. McKenney to the Secretary of War.

MILLEDGEVILLE, GEORGIA, Nov. 17, 1827.

SIR: I am happy in having it in my power to inform you, that articles of agreement and cession were, on the morning of the 15th inst., entered into, at the Creek agency, with the Creeks, and which were concluded at the moment of the arrival of the stage, which left me no

time to announce it from there, which secure to the United States *all the lands owned or claimed by them, within the chartered limits of Georgia.* This agreement is signed by the Little Prince, the head of the nation, and five of his principal men, and is to be binding when approved and ratified by the President and Senate, on the one hand, and sanctioned on the other by a council of the Creeks, which, it is stipulated in the articles, shall be immediately convened for the purpose. This sanctioning, in council, is required by one of their laws.

I left the articles with the agent, who will attend the council, and superadd the usual certificate in such cases. The agent having been previously enjoined to prosecute this subject, if possible, to a favorable issue, is joined in the instrument with me. It is due to him that he should be so associated, no less on account of the powers with which I found him vested, than to the zeal with which I discovered he had endeavored to fulfil your instructions in regard to this matter.

I have time only to add, that the condition money for the land is forty-two thousand five hundred and ninety-one dollars.

I derive an additional gratification in making this communication, from my knowledge of the deep anxiety which you have so long felt to have this controversy settled.

I will make you, as soon after my return as possible, a detailed report of my proceedings under this, as also the other branches of your instructions of 28th March last, and 10th April; and submit, also, views of policy in regard to our Indian relations, especially those of the four southern tribes, which have been suggested by a personal inspection of the condition of three of them.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obd't Serv't.

THOS. L. McKENNEY.

To the Hon. JAMES BARBOUR,

Secretary of War.

E.

From Col. McKenney to the Secretary of War.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,

Office of Indian Affairs, Nov. 29, 1827.

I proceed, immediately on my return, (deferring my general report on the various subjects connected with my recent tour, to another period,) to submit, in brief, as promised in my communication to you from Milledgeville, in Georgia, of the 17th inst. the conclusions I have arrived at, in regard to the policy which, I respectfully suggest, should

prevail in our intercourse with the Indians. I refer, especially, to that branch of it, which embraces the question of emigration and settlement, *without the states and territories*, and upon lands from which they will never again be requested to remove. These remarks will be confined to the four southern tribes generally, but especially to the Creeks.

Hitherto, the propositions on this subject, as on most others, have been made and concluded under the form of treaties, and there can be no question but so far as the past is concerned, that mode was the best. It was best, because the propositions were never unjust or unreasonable, and because the Indians themselves received them in the spirit in which they were conveyed, *free from those intervening and counter-acting agencies which have, of late years, been so industriously employed, and now work so busily and selfishly in governing their decisions; and which seldom fail in fixing these in opposition to the policy of the government, or in the exaction of such terms as are inadmissible.* This influence has become paramount among the Creeks; and to it may be attributed, in great part, if not wholly, the difficulties which have lain in the way of an earlier settlement of the recent Creek controversy. In proof of this, I have only to remark, that it was not until I had met the Creeks in a third council, that I could succeed with them; nor then, until in their midst I demonstrated the cupidity and bad counsels of *one* of these interfering agents, and assuming the responsibility, broke him on the spot, by announcing, in the name of the President of the United States, that for the reasons then assigned, no communication of any sort would be received by the President from the Creek nation, if that man had any agency whatever in it. This broke the spell of their opposition, and the agreement was made.

I have come to the conclusion, (I refer now mainly to the Creeks,) and from close and personal observation, that no treaty can be concluded with these people, *as such*, and that whatever may be attempted in this way will be with persons not of the Creek nation, but such as have artfully insinuated themselves into their confidence, and who govern their councils.

From this may be inferred the ignorance and weakness of the Creeks, and the inference is just. Conscious of their own inefficiency to manage for themselves their concerns, they have yielded to this state of dependence on others. But this is not all. They are a wretched people. Poverty and distress are visible every where; and these have become entailed upon them by habitual drunkenness. No man, who has the feelings of a man, can go through their country, and see their total abandonment to this vice, without emotions of the most painful kind. I hold their recovery from it, and from its long train of miseries, *whilst they retain their present relations to the States, to be hopeless.* No human agency can reform them as a people. It is vain to try. They are a devoted people, and destruction lies just before them. Humanity and justice unite in calling loudly upon the government as a parent promptly to interfere and save them.

They feel the miseries of their condition; and many of them look most imploringly for help. I believe they would submit cheerfully to be guided by the government, in regard to any new relations which it

might be thought proper to establish for them. But those influences, under the *direction* of which they have placed themselves, would counteract the kindest designs, unless the measures which may be adopted for bettering their condition shall be accompanied by a power that shall cause those interested people to cease their interfering agencies; and this, in my opinion, is within the range of a sound policy; nor will the exercise of it conflict with any one of the great principles upon which rest justice, or mercy, or the freedom of the citizen. It will be found to lie,

First, In the preparation of a *suitable (and none other should be offered to them)* and last home, for these unfortunate people, and

Second, In providing suitable means, and support for their transportation, and taking them kindly, but *firmly* by the hand, and telling them *they must go and enjoy it*; and

Lastly, In letting those persons who interfere in such matters know, that the object of the government being kind to the Indians, and intended wholly to better their condition, its determination is final, and that no persons will be permitted with impunity to interfere in it. To sustain this last position, the *presence* of a few troops only, would be required.

I would have it distinctly understood, that a reasonable number of reservations should be granted, and that they should be given in fee simple to those who might prefer to remain.

This policy applies, in its fullest extent, to the Creeks. I confine it, in this extent, to this people: not because it is not in a great degree applicable to others, but because I consider the way to be wide open, for the Chickasaws and Choctaws; and therefore, no illustrations in reference to them are needed.

In regard to these, (the Chickasaws and Choctaws) I believe, it will only be required to make the provision, and as has been more fully explained in my reports of the 10th and 17th October, marked A. B. and C. and they will go. I believe also, the greater portion of the Cherokees would follow, and upon a bare exposition of the plan which has been recommended, the establishment of a suitable system for their transportation, and an invitation to them to go and join their brothers.

I did not, as you are aware, visit the Cherokees. It was my wish to have seen them, and in pursuance of your instructions, made known the views and wishes of the government to them also. My time I found would not hold out: and if it had been longer, I must have arrived in their country at the period when the commissioners were engaged in negotiating for the privilege of uniting, by means of a canal through their country, the waters of Canasago and Highwassee, and I should have deemed it prudent, even with time enough to have visited them, not to distract their councils, by calling off their attention to any other subject.

Of the Cherokees it is due that I should speak from my knowledge, obtained, however, otherwise than by personal observation, in terms of high commendation. They have done much for themselves. It

has been their good fortune to have had born among them, some great men; of these, the late Charles Hicks stood pre-eminent. Under his wisdom, which was guided by virtues of a rare quality, these people have been elevated in privileges of every local description, high above their neighbors. *They seek to be a people*, and to maintain by law and good government, those principles which maintain the security of persons, defend the rights of property, &c. They deserve to be respected, and to be helped. But with the kindest regards to them, and with a firm conviction in the propriety and truth of the remark, *they ought not to be encouraged in forming a constitution and government, within a State of the Republic, to exist and operate independently of our laws.* The sooner they have the assurance given them, that this cannot be permitted, the better it will be for them. If they will agree to come at once under our laws, and be merged as citizens in our privileges, would it be objected against? But if they will not, then no people, of all the Indians within our limits, are better qualified to go into a territory, such as it is proposed to provide for our Indians, and by their superior lights, confer, under a suitable form of government, benefits upon the Indian race. They are wise enough, I think, to see this, and magnanimous enough to undertake it. For my own part, I am solicitous for their happiness and prosperity; and being conscious that their hopes must rest ultimately, upon such a home as the Chickasaws have, with such a display of wisdom, determined to go and provide for themselves, I cannot but believe that a great majority of the Cherokees will consent to join them.

In conclusion, I respectfully suggest that a suitable provision be made by the Congress, to be placed at the disposition of the Executive—first, for defraying the expense of the Chickasaws, who have agreed to go and look for a country, and with a view to its occupancy upon the terms which they have stipulated, and as will be seen on referring to my report of the 10th October, marked B. herewith submitted; and of the six Choctaws who are, by the assent of their nation, to go with them.—This I had estimated at \$10,000; but this estimate was confined to the Chickasaws. I would suggest that \$5,000 more be added, making \$15,000 for this object.

To this may be added for the present \$100,000, to be made applicable, in the discretion of the Executive, to the object of Indian emigration generally.

It will be time enough after the country is chosen to provide the means to extinguish the title or titles of the present occupants; and for other objects connected with the plan of settling it, &c. as proposed.

Various illustrations might be added, confirming in my view of it, the importance of the policy which I have only glanced at, and these should have been added but for want of time. Enough only I find to be left

for me to run out this meagre outline, which is respectfully submitted to your better judgment, and if it be your pleasure, to the wisdom of Congress.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your obedient serv't.

THO. L. McKENNEY.

The Hon. JAMES BARBOUR,
Secretary of War.